THE NEW REPUBLIC

A New Bipartisanship

Jacob K. Javits

Checks and Balances at the Fed

Helen Hill Miller

Eisenhower as Lochinvar

Alexander Welsh

Dinesen and Waugh

William Jay Smith

January 23, 1961, 25 cent.

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Hats Off

★ Our culture has a genius for demeaning greatness. The inauguration of a new President should be a moment of solemnity and of consecration – we have produced a ceremony that is incongruous, tawdry, ignoble. Bands and balls and silly floats – they have tried to make a Mardi Gras out of it! Yet the vulgarity cannot diminish two episodes that are simple and pure, the ride up Pennsylvania Avenue of the outgoing and incoming Presidents, symbol of democratic continuity ("Take your hats off when you write about *that!*" the veteran editor of the old *New York World* grimly told his young men), and the outdoor taking of the mighty oath that dedicates a lonely private citizen to serve all the nation. Nothing can spoil these two episodes so long as democracy means anything.

We said last week it was folly to withdraw recognition from Castro just before Kennedy took over. We think this week it is folly to give four obsolete armed planes to the government of Laos to enable it to strafe its foes. The intervention raises the stakes in the international poker game there; will the Soviet and Red China match the new bid? Where will competing armament stop? It is this kind of provocative act that horrifies our allies. Who actually made these final decisions, the outgoing Eisenhower – or the Pentagon?

Dixon-Yates and U-2

★ Last week the Supreme Court, 6-3, finally ruled that the Dixon-Yates contract was tainted. It is interesting now only because it foreshadowed the U-2 incident. Dixon-Yates, you remember, was the effort by Eisenhower to undercut the "creeping socialism" of TVA with a private power corporation. In most places the Administration (to its credit) accepted the FDR social revolution; here at TVA it tried to turn back the clock. The irony of the affair, so far as the Court decision goes, is that the people who really tainted the contract were Eisenhower's own advisers: Sherman Adams, Joseph Dodge, Rowland Hughes and others who brought in Adolphe Wenzell and the First Boston Corp. in a conflict-of-interest deal.

How does this resemble U-2? Because Eisenhower did not know what was going on. He delegated Dixon-Yates to his subordinates. He lost control. He told them to give out the facts – they produced a deceptive "cover" story. Repeatedly Eisenhower showed his humiliating ignorance to the disbelieving press. The Administration ultimately dropped Dixon-Yates on the excuse that Memphis had decided to build its own power plant. But many people who had watched the episode were scared from then on. U-2 didn't surprise them.

Something To Be Proud Of

★ Eisenhower's final budget is a fairytale. It isn't worth bothering with save at one point. He boasts that he has held "budget expenditures to a lesser proportion of the national income than in 1953." He made the same boast in his message to Congress last week. He will possibly repeat it in his farewell TV address. He is proud of it. It is his supreme achievement.

The outgoing Administration has in fact deliberately and proudly starved the public services by reducing their proportion of the national income. The ratio of federal expenditures, civilian as well as defense, has been cut. Galbraith pointed out that the US is preoccupied brilliantly with the production of private consumer products – and gadgets. Alvin Hansen figured that in terms of GNP, we spent in 1957 only about 40 percent as much on hospitals as in 1920-24. Of course the absolute expenditure has gone up – there are more people, there is more money. But in terms of over-all national product the ratio going to schools, housing, urban development, resource development and the like, has left these public facilities starved. Instead of better cities we have got Detroit tailfins – and a precious lot of good it has done the economy.

Anemic Patient

★ One of the most muscular, illuminating, unsentimental discussions of the economy we have read in a long while is that prepared by MIT professor Paul Samuelson for Kennedy. It came out just before the latest figures putting unemployment at a 20 year high. (The economy is "operating at high levels" said Eisenhower in his budget message! – What country is the dear man talking about, anyway?) The heart of the Samuelson analysis is that we are in a recession all right and that it probably can be taken care of fairly easy, but that this is superimposed on something else – a chronic slackness, an economy which in the last few years has been "sluggish and tired." It's not the head cold that worries Samuelson but the anemic condition of the patient to begin with. What to do – ? Get the economy rolling again. Bring together idle men and the need for schools, urban renewal, health and welfare development! Yes, the very things the outgoing Administration proudly boasts it starved are what are needed for recovery. Here is an extraordinary transition of philosophy – bleed the patient, says Ike; feed him, say modern economists.

Notes: Suspicions of 35-year-old Robert Kennedy continue. Comment – "They have Big Brother in Moscow; hope we don't have Kid Brother in Washington! . . . No "ifs" and "buts" in the 1960 Democratic platform, it urged "anti-filibuster action at the *beginning*" of the new Congress "so that majority rule prevails . . ." The motion failed by four votes. . . . Could Kennedy have shifted two votes to make a winning tie? – Yes; did he? – No, he stayed aloof. . . . To the horror of the AMA, two ex-Eisenhower officials, Marion Folsom of HEW, and Arthur Larson, GOP ideologist, endorsed the social security plan for medical aid to the aged at the President's conference on aging here last week – a big psychological boost. . . . Kennedy appointees learning the secrets of Cabinet posts express more and more concern: our alliances, our economy, our gold – they're all in worse shape than expected.

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Senator Jacob K. Javits is on firm ground in appealing in these pages for a "new bipartisanship" on foreign economic policy. The President will need every vote he can get when long-term economic aid and liberal trade legislation come before Congress – and to get them, in the case of the small group of Republican liberals, he can properly be asked for advance consultation on the substance of proposed legislation. But it should be noted that Mr. Javits' terms for a coalition between the President and Republican liberals in the Congress seem broader than this and go beyond those laid down by Senator Vandenberg more than a decade ago. Vandenberg always made it plain that the limited cooperation of which he was the Republican agent and symbol meant only a "mutual effort, under our indispensable two-party system, to unite our official voice at the water's edge so that America speaks with maximum authority against those who would divide and conquer us and the free world." It did not mean, for him, advance consultation or an agreed doctrine between the President and Republicans in the Congress on any matter of domestic policy.

It may be said, and Senator Javits says it well, that full federal protection of each citizen's civil rights has much to do with the prestige this country enjoys abroad and is therefore a bipartisan concern. But the interdependence of foreign and domestic policies applies, though less dramatically, to nearly everything that is done or left undone in this country. Our prestige, our strength are directly and importantly affected by actions to decrease unemployment, to accelerate the rate of economic growth, to improve education, housing, welfare services, etc. To imply, however, that in all of these areas bipartisanship is attainable or desirable is to suggest the dismantling of our present party system, and Senator Javits is not recommending that. Yet he does seem to suggest that Kennedy's margin of victory and the "growing aggressiveness of the ultra-conservatives" may combine to undermine the ability of the President to lead, unless he comes to terms with like-minded Republicans on civil rights. And not only that. Mr. Javits implies that White House influence must be thrown behind further civil rights Congressional enactments – and soon, though the question of timing, of Executive *versus* Congressional action is surely a tactical rather than substantive question. If this indeed becomes a condition for effective bipartisanship in the only sphere Vandenberg considered it appropriate – in foreign affairs – then very little bipartisanship is in prospect at all. If we envision, however, only an

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alliance of like-minded men to sustain an intelligent foreign economic policy, as Senator Javits commendably desires, Mr. Kennedy has some prospect of success, and considerable incentive to promote it. Defections from internationalism in the Democratic Party have increased since the Vandenberg era and that is a constant danger. But likewise in the last decade "modern Republicanism" in the sense of a rational world-mindedness has grown inside the Republican Party – and the proof is the presence in the Senate of Mr. Javits, and Senators Aiken, Case, Cooper, Fong, and possibly Keating. But since coalitions are formed around particular issues, and since Senator Vandenberg is no longer with us, how precisely is the new President to "consult" with such men, to invite their ideas and hold their allegiance? Vandenberg was an undisputed leader of his party. He never pretended to speak for all Republicans, yet he carried very great weight with them all. Not quite the same can be said for the liberal Republicans whom we have named. Against Mr. Javits' informed view, one must set the statement of Styles Bridges, who is chairman of the Senate GOP Policy Committee, that in 1961 Republicans will take "a new independent attitude on foreign aid and some other matters. . . . In the past our policy has been largely made at the White House." Is the new President to take Senators Javits, Cooper or Case into his confidence and ask their help in drafting legislation, behind the backs of the officially recognized leadership of the Republican Party in the Senate? That is a course open to him, and by so doing it is possible that on particular issues Mr. Kennedy can capture six or seven or more Republican votes in the Senate. But it is not a road to travel often or far. And it would avail him little were he at the same time to estrange half of his own party in the same chamber – by, perhaps, embracing Mr. Javits' idea on how best to strengthen civil rights.

There is another change since Senator Vandenberg's time to which Senator Javits does not refer, but which further complicates the creation of any durable bipartisanship, and that is the growing importance in foreign affairs of the House of Representatives. When one looks back on the comments of Senator Vandenberg in the 40's, one is struck by how little he says about the role of the House. Today, however, since so many of the decisions relating to national security become in the end questions of appropriations, the House takes on vast import. Here the picture is fairly dismal. Most Democratic members of the Appropriations Committee are not notable for any broad or firm grasp of world affairs and are moved more by patronage and preference than ideas. And the Republicans are no better.

This will be one of the new President's most perplexing and delicate tasks: How to maintain leadership of his own party and squeeze from the party the maximum support for those international policies he considers essential to this country's national strength, and how at the same time to win over those Republicans who see the world's problems as he does, and who are willing to desert their own party occasionally to support him; either because their constituents (say in New York or New Jersey) would approve, or because they cannot bring themselves to play politics with the nation's survival. Mr. Kennedy is also bound to ask himself how much power over a long period the liberal Republicans to whom Senator Javits refers can bring to the bargaining table. Perhaps no more than six Republican Senators are dependable allies when it comes, for example, to long-term financing, through Treasury-borrowing authority, for the Development Loan Fund – though this number could conceivably swell with the addition of some fair weather friends in the Senate – Kuchel, Morton, Saltonstall and Smith.

The President will no doubt welcome Mr. Javits' offer of cooperation and will respond in a positive spirit. But two reservations are relevant: partnership between liberals in both parties, necessary as it is, can only be part-time, it must be narrowly defined if it is to work – there can be no "national government"; and second, the primary responsibility of the new President is to galvanize and to unite insofar as he is able the Democrats in the Congress and the people in the country to support those programs which *he* and his party have promised to put into effect.

Casablanca Summit

Never has the American penchant for clearcut labels on the "good guys" and the "bad guys" been so frustrated as in our attempts to get Africa tied up into easily identifiable packages. In September, we were told by Secretary Herter that Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah was moving into the Soviet orbit; this was confirmed by Mr. Kennedy in two television debates during the campaign as well as by a large segment of the press. Last week, however, the post-mortems on the "Summit conference" held in Casablanca from January 3 to 7 by the chiefs of state of Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Mali, Morocco, and Guinea were unanimous in concluding that President Nkrumah was the "moderating influence" – largely responsible for the decision not to transfer the 6,500 troops of the Casablanca Five now in the Congo UN Army to the pro-Lumumba forces of Antoine Gizenga in Orientale Province.

Similarly, the stories coming from the Congo on Rajeshwar Dayal of India, Secretary General Hammarskjold's special representative, present decidedly contrary images. In his January 14 letter to the Secretary General demanding Dayal's recall, Western-sup-

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ported President Kasavubu charged the Indian official with "inconscience and partiality." But the London *Observer* finds "the idea that [Mr. Dayal] is following an 'Indian line' in the Congo (put about especially by American observers) . . . about as absurd as the Russian view of Mr. Dayal's predecessor, Dr. Ralph Bunche, as an 'American imperialist'." One would have supposed in recent months that the secessionist Congolese province of Katanga is the personal fief of its President, Mr. Moishe Tshombe. But now we are beginning to get an inkling that there is (and, as it turns out, has been for some time) a strong if little-noticed opposition movement in Katanga, called the Balubakat Cartel, under the leadership of an able politician named Jason Sendwe – who was once touted to become compromise Premier of the Congo before Lumumba won out. Mr. Kasavubu, somewhat bored with Tshombe's demands, is said to be dickering with Sendwe under the table, and a Katanga upset could be in the making. Pro-Lumumba forces advanced hundreds of miles into Katanga last week to set up an outpost – apparently with the support of Baluba tribesmen all along the way.

The main problem for Americans in sifting out African complexities is that we use the wrong litmus paper, with the chief test of "goodness" and "badness" reduced to a display of cooperation with a Western position (or, conversely, antipathy to the Soviet position). Thus President Nkrumah's support of the Lumumba cause happens to coincide with the Soviet position (or the reverse), but the determining factors in Ghana's unwavering support of Lumumba these past seven months have been mutual personal loyalties, a shared devotion to the concept of strongly-centralized government, the certainty that Lumumba (perhaps alone among Congolese politicians) has no neo-colonialist taint, and the simple reality that it is very difficult to let go of a tiger once you have one by the tail. This is not to say that Nkrumah was "veering toward the West" in taking the lead at Casablanca in opposing outright military aid to the Gizenga regime. To Nkrumah, it must have been clear that this would almost certainly lead to Spanish-type civil war in which the Congo would become, not only the cold war battlefield it now is, but a hot one too.

Dr. Nkrumah obviously finds some utility in playing West and East off against each other politically (and economically) in Africa, but he has no desire to carry this to the point where the continent enters a new period of European colonization – of any flavor.

A Voice for Consumers

It was almost a love-feast. The Senate Agriculture Committee asked Governor Freeman questions gently for two hours, and he as gently fielded back the answers. No nominee for the difficult post of Secretary of Agriculture could be expected to respond with ready-made formulas before setting up shop in the Department, and Governor Freeman wisely did not try. At the beginning the room was actually packed to the walls. Within half an hour, however, two Senators announced that they had to leave to attend the hearing on Robert Kennedy's more controversial nomination and after a decent interval many of the spectators followed. Perhaps that was why so little was said in the papers that afternoon or the next morning about Governor Freeman's precedent-shattering statement in response to a question by the newest Senator (Mrs. Neuberger of Washington) just before the end of the hearing. He said he would appoint a consumer representative to his own staff; people who buy groceries would have a voice on the top policy level in the Department of Agriculture. The importance of this is highlighted by the fact that there is no member of either the House or Senate Committees on Agriculture who is devoted primarily to the interests of non-farming consumers, although this group constitutes more than 90 percent of the people of the United States.

Helping Depressed Areas

The new Administration's task force on depressed areas owed its origin to a campaign promise made by Mr. Kennedy in the West Virginia primary. Quite understandably, that meant a group over-weighted with West Virginians and with men drawn from the coal interests – both proprietors and unionists. The geographical scope of its attention was limited, despite some side glances at the rest of the Appalachian region and some remoter centers of economic sickness too conspicuous to be wholly ignored. Nevertheless, Sen. Paul Douglas and his committee, given less than a month for their work, conscientiously filled an order for a *tour de force*. Now the important questions are what Congress does and whether the new Administration seeks long-term cures or short-term palliatives.

Efforts to solve the problem of depressed areas have invariably (and logically) fallen into three main categories: the immediate alleviation of human misery; steps to put more federal business into the affected areas, and basic economic reconstruction. These divisions are visible, if not quite so explicit, in the Douglas committee report.

The alleviation of misery is something the federal government can do with relative ease – given the will. But the doubling of food allotments in, say, West Virginia, would do no more than raise the subsistence level from shameful to bad. It would never make the patient well. As to the channeling of federal business into centers of unemployment, this is a too-glib prescription with unacceptable side effects. It carries the risk of ad-

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diction and builds no reliable permanent base. It makes whole groups of workers, whole communities, whole industries, even whole sections of the country, the dependents of government and especially of the Pentagon. It thrusts local economic problems into questions of national and international policy (*e.g.*, the Southern California aircraft industry versus the Detroit motor industry in missile and space policy) where they have no place. In the long run it can create a host of industrial garrisons as hard to get rid of, when their functions become obsolete in terms of national need, as the Indian forts.

Similar considerations apply with somewhat lesser force (notwithstanding the rationalizations of the Douglas committee) to federal public works of local dimensions and federal aid for local public works projects. These can serve as a useful stimulus in times of general economic depression and heavy generalized unemployment; but it does not follow, as the committee says it does, that by cutting the dose and applying it locally it becomes a specific for local economic illness.

In dealing with the acknowledged need for enduring cures, the Douglas committee has not gone much further than open stock measures, and has rejected some of the bolder of them, such as federal assistance and encouragement for the voluntary relocation of the chronically unemployed. In our view the program needed is one bold enough to equip the federal government with the means of achieving, or helping to achieve, the long-term economic reconstruction of blighted areas wherever they are, whatever their size, whatever the cause of the blight.

It is a distinguishing characteristic of areas of chronic depression that they do poorly even when the nation as a whole is in blooming economic health. They are the first to feel depressions, and lag last behind upturns. The first step is for Mr. Kennedy, Congress and the country to acknowledge the black truth which even the victims tend to reject: that the lost mining jobs in the Appalachian coal towns, the lost textile jobs in New England, the lost automobile jobs in Detroit, and the lost overhaul jobs in the steam locomotive shops in Altoona are not going to come back. Surplus commodities are not going to bring them back. Roads, dams and bridges are not going to bring them back. Nor, in these days of heightening technological efficiency and automation, can new and different industrial activity be counted upon to provide replacement jobs in anything like the ratios once prevailing.

The Douglas committee noted that "no one plan, or legislative enactment, can do the whole job for all distressed areas." It recognized the diversity of programs required, the problem of priorities, and the need for experimentation: "Recommendations which may be accepted or rejected, expanded or contracted, as experience is gained." One can deduce plainly from this that Congress would be unable to write any measure, however broad and however well-intentioned, which would contain all the necessary prescriptions. It can, as a bill introduced by Douglas and 43 other Senators seeks to do, fix criteria, provide relief funds and authorize loans, grants, technical assistance, training and retraining, and resource development. But beyond that Congress and the Administration should give to the new Area Reconstruction Agency (envisaged by Senator Douglas) enough discretionary authority – and funds – to carry out a continuing program of research and experimentation in direct cooperation with the depressed areas themselves.

NOTHING WAS LOST BUT GEORGIA'S PRIDE

Too Much for Governor Vandiver

Atlanta

It may seem both cruel and premature to seek a silver lining in the very dark cloud that hangs over Georgia, but there may be one. The very acts of hatred that forced a Negro boy and girl to leave the University of Georgia after one day in class may insure that the city of Atlanta will be able to open desegregated schools next fall without the fear of violence or padlocks.

Little of value – except Georgia's pride – was lost in last week's riot at Athens and in the ensuing official clumsiness at providing adequate protection for the two students. The Negroes emerged from the demonstration unharmed and with the added admiration of those white people of Georgia who compared the calmness, politeness and determination of Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter with the Tobacco Road obscenity of their tormentors. What was gained, perhaps, was an understanding (as if New Orleans did not provide sufficient proof) that the federal courts mean what they

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say and can act quickly; that all the legal trickery and public whinings of a "sovereign" state legislature are as nothing against the federal constitution; and, most important, the understanding that the good people of Georgia do not want politicians fooling around with their schools.

It was a lesson that could have been learned in 1941, when Georgia's late dictator, Eugene Talmadge, fired a couple of deans and lost accreditation for the university. It could have been learned in 1955, when former Governor Marvin Griffin flew into a rage over the idea of Georgia's playing integrated football in the Sugar Bowl. Both instigators were severely burned.

When Governor Ernest Vandiver was running for office two and one-half years ago, he ignored all this (and the example of Little Rock) and declared he would close the public schools before desegregation came. That pleased the South Georgia sheriffs and politicians and klansmen, but it disturbed the folks in Atlanta and in other urban areas who felt Georgia was already too far behind in educating her children for the atomic age.

Last week, however, Governor Vandiver was not given the choice of closing a few elementary and high schools, but of shutting down the University at Athens where more than a third of the state's representatives and senators got their degrees; the school that supplies the state with many of its teachers and lawyers; the school that plays football in the name of the state of Georgia. It was too much for Vandiver, the man who two weeks earlier might have been Secretary of the Army but who now might be willing to settle for Master Sergeant. A federal judge had knocked down the last "legal" barrier the state could have employed to keep the Negroes out – a 1956 appropriations act ordering the cessation of funds to state schools upon their desegregation. This came on the day after Vandiver had told the convening legislature that the law was useless, and as the legislature itself prepared to repeal the act. The Governor, obviously angry, walked into a press conference and read the contents of a telegram to District Judge W. A. Bootle. "While my respect for lawful processes and my oath as Governor of the state of Georgia preclude any act of defiance on my part," he said, "I must register with you personally and officially the strongest possible protest of your action on interference in the administration of state law and what amounts to usurpation of the legislative prerogatives of the general assembly of Georgia." With that. and with his speech to the legislature, Ernest Vandiver finally departed from the rules of dealing with federal courts as set down by the Governors of Arkansas and Louisiana, and with that he firmly retreated from his promises of continued segregation in Georgia.

The riot that followed on the next night, the remarkable lateness of the state patrol in arriving at the scene, and the unusual composition of the mob itself have brought much speculation here that the whole string of events following Judge Bootle's ruling was masterminded by politicians, not necessarily those now in office. One theory is that the near-closing of the University, the uncontrolled rioting, and the subsequent suspension of the Negroes "for their personal safety" were mainly political posturing meant to show South Georgia voters that the local politicians had done everything *they* could. Indeed, it has been said privately in the state legislature that every representative and senator knows very well what the score is on desegregation, but many of them don't give their constituents credit for knowing the same thing. "We've got to give them a good act," said one old-timer in the House of Representatives. When the federal judge ruled unconstitutional that portion of the 1956 act that would have cut off funds to desegregated schools, legislators publicly cried usurpation, tyranny and the other stock phrases. Privately, some sighed with relief. For now the closing of the public schools is less likely, and a federal judge may be blamed when desegregation occurs.

The two Negroes are now back in the University, and the city of Atlanta is under a federal court order to stop discrimination in its upper grades next fall. Everyone in Georgia had been looking for a near-bloody battle when that day came. Before Christmas, legislative leaders were confidently predicting that the schools would be closed "only a day or two," and they thought they were pleasing both the South Georgia farmer and the junior executive whose company just transferred him to Atlanta.

Now the law closing those schools is just a scrap of paper. It appears likely that the legislature will refrain from passing anything more violent than local option of tuition grant legislation this session. The Governor says he can't defy the law as interpreted by the federal courts. Lieutenant Governor Garland Byrd, who once called for a law requiring all Georgians to swear allegiance to segregation, is now reduced to such statements as, "We must seek ways and means of continuing public education in this state." Leadership in the Athens demonstrations is being traced down to a few young men who apparently got everyone else excited, then faded into the background. The Ku Klux Klan, which does not enjoy acceptance among the civilized peoples of Georgia, has been identified with the rioting. Numerous state and local organizations, from the Fulton County Republican Organization to the Margaret Mitchell PTA group in Atlanta, are demanding that it never happen again.

Situations have a way of changing overnight in Georgia. Maybe this one won't, but right now there is a good chance that next fall, when a new school crisis becomes a reality, there will be no need for federal marshals, the paratroopers or even the fire hoses. The sensible people might be in control. FRED POWLEDGE

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Clean Slate in Foreign Policy?

In his report from Paris published recently in these pages under the title "Great Expectations," Jean Daniel told of the hopes excited abroad by Kennedy's election. No one can say how these expectations may be fulfilled. What can be said, however, is that they had very little to do with the success of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket on November 8. As the levels of voting behavior are peeled back state-by-state, county-by-county, town-by-town, precinct-by-precinct, it becomes increasingly clear that the voting patterns two months ago derived largely from the elector's inherited party label loyalties, his religion, his image of candidate personality, and his concern over *domestic* – particularly economic – issues.

Foreign policy, to be sure, was advertised as the major concern of the voter, and concern there was: In poll after poll, voters expressed their anxiety about foreign affairs, their hope for strong leadership, their desire for security. In interviews around the country during August, Stewart Alsop found that what most voters wanted was a President who would keep the peace and simultaneously "stop Khrushchev and Castro from kicking us around."

But these seemed not to be the "cutting issues," perhaps because most voters saw little to choose as between the views of the candidates and the parties on foreign aid, Cuba, Berlin, national defense, opposition to recognition of Communist China, and the like. The agreement the candidates eventually reached on Quemoy and Matsu mirrors the agreement the voters evidently reached a lot earlier. People simply didn't believe that Nixon was "trigger-happy," nor did they believe that Kennedy and the Democrats were going to "sell America to the Kremlin."

On the Republican side much was made of the foreign affairs "experience" of the Nixon-Lodge team and efforts were made to develop and exploit specific foreign policy issues like that involving Quemoy and Matsu, but polling data indicate the voters simply did not respond in terms of a strong pull one way or the other. Kennedy supporters interviewed by poll-takers would often cite prestige as a reason for voting Democratic, but so would people who were planning to vote for Nixon. This "prestige" issue probably helped the Democrats a bit, just as many eager to "stand up to Khrushchev" seemed to prefer Nixon, but there is little evidence that either argument caused people to vote differently than they normally would have done if the issue had not existed. Voters concerned about foreign affairs seemed more interested in getting a "good man" to manage the store than they were in choosing between long hours *versus* short, high prices *versus* cut-rates, or other differing doctrines as to just how the store should be run. Here it may be that the TV debates had their maximum effect in projecting candidate Kennedy as a man competent to handle foreign problems.

In so close an election, any question may well have been decisive, and so foreign policy *may* have tipped the balance. But available polling and election data appear to rank it well down the list. Much more important appear to have been traditional party loyalties, the return of many Catholics to the Democratic Party they left in 1952 and 1956, and the continuing economic orientation of so many voters to the Republican or Democratic image, as appealing to haves or have-nots.

One of the best evidences of this may be found in the areas shifting most markedly to Kennedy from the 1956 Eisenhower highpoint of Republican strength – and, in contrast, in the areas in which Nixon actually polled better in 1960 than did President Eisenhower in his 1956 sweep. Typical of the "high-switch to Kennedy" areas were lower middle-class and better-paid working class Catholic districts in Queens and Richmond boroughs in New York, Spanish-speaking precincts in such cities as Tampa, San Antonio and Los Angeles, and Negro wards all over the country.

On the other side of the ledger were habitually Democratic, rural, Protestant counties of the Border States – in Oklahoma, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri – or many of the counties of the Central Valley of California, an area to which so many citizens of Oklahoma and Arkansas have moved in this past generation.

One interesting survey, taken last month by the well-regarded Minnesota Poll, bears out the primacy of non-foreign policy factors in the election. Asked why they had voted for Kennedy, his supporters listed a variety of reasons – almost all domestic. Among the top six were personal qualification, the Democratic program, "time for a change" – not foreign policy.

Basically the *changes* in 1960's political responses were domestic responses, and one reason they were so was because the voters broadly identified both parties and both candidates with approximately the same kind of strong foreign *policy*. And in some ways this combination of circumstances presents advantages to foreign policy-makers of the Kennedy Administration. Had specific policies been the subject of meaningful debate, and had these policies been voted up or down by the electors, the ability of the new Administration to develop and sell new overseas programs would have been more circumscribed. As it is, the hopes of the world as outlined by Mr. Daniel may yet be realized.

RICHARD M. SCAMMON

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We Simply Don't Know

One who had the honor to vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt four times and, if he had lived, might have voted for him again, has no need to protest his esteem of the architect of the New Deal and the exacter of Unconditional Surrender. It is therefore not any doubt of the merit of the subject, but other reasons that impel this superficial observer to object to the plans to erect a memorial to Roosevelt in the District of Columbia.

All these reasons may be summed up in one – the time is not yet ripe. If it were merely a matter of a plaque stuck up in some corner of the Union Station, or even in a corridor of the Capitol, it would be unreasonable to object; but if Roosevelt deserves a monument at all, he deserves a very impressive one, and it takes more than 16 years to convince all men that any statesman is worthy of a monument of that type.

Thirty-four years hence there will no longer be any doubt. By that time one of two things will have happened – either Roosevelt will have sunk to the obscurity of, say, John Tyler, or all the world will admit that he was one of our very great Presidents. For my part, I feel sure that he will be among the great; but I prefer delaying erection of his monument until all living Americans feel the same way, and if that time never comes there should never be a great monument.

We have a horrible example of undue haste in that hundred-foot chimney now defacing the Capitol grounds. Go into any good public school today and ask any intelligent eighth-grader who has had a course in American history, "Who was Taft?" and the answer will be: "The only man who was both President and Chief Justice of the United States, a fine Secretary of War, and a great Governor of the Philippines." But the monument doesn't say so.

If we erect a monument to FDR at this time there is a very good chance that it will fail to commemorate the chief historical significance of the man for the simple, but sufficient, reason that we are not and cannot be entirely sure of that significance. If the United Nations survives the present crisis and develops into the political instrument it was intended to be, posterity will see Roosevelt in a light appreciably different from that in which we now view him, and that construction will appear as far more important than anything else he did, not excluding the New Deal, World War II, or even changing the date of Thanksgiving.

For if the United Nations, or any reasonable substitute, survives and flourishes, future generations will see Roosevelt as bearing the relation, politically speaking, to Woodrow Wilson that Augustus bore to Julius Caesar – that is, a great man who perfected and completed the unfinished work of a great predecessor. Such a feat would indeed be worth commemorating with a monument that would exhaust the genius of the finest engineers, architects and sculptors that America could supply. But it hasn't happened yet, and it may never happen. We simply don't know, and we can't know for many years to come.

The measure of the stature of any historical figure is the relative slowness with which he died. Physically, of course, it is all over in a moment and on the spot where a man's physical body is buried it is appropriate to put up a tombstone the day after the funeral. But his influence upon the course of events, his power to shape the thoughts and direct the acts of men may actually increase after his physical body has been consigned to the earth.

If we have reason to believe that a man is very great, then we have every reason to suppose that we shall not be able to measure his real stature with accuracy for at least 50 years after his physical death. For some who appear to be tremendous diminish with great speed; and some who are in fact tremendous are great for reasons not apparent to their contemporaries. Lincoln, for instance, was the architect of military victory, but how trifling that appears compared to his present position as the archetype of American humanity!

Roosevelt, too, was an architect of victory, but already we remember him less for that than for his sympathetic understanding of the plight of the hard-pressed, and he is enshrined as the champion of the little man.

If the Lincoln Memorial had been erected in 1866 it is quite possible that it might have mentioned the battle of Gettysburg and ignored the Address; which would have made it ridiculous. By the same token a memorial to Roosevelt erected now may mention the wrong things. Let's let it rest.

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Checks and Balances at the Fed

by Helen Hill Miller

Forecasts for the early days of the Administration include conflict between President Kennedy's program to get the economy moving forward and the Federal Reserve's policy emphasizing the protection of the national currency and credit. The institutional framework for a conflict exists, but history shows that the framework could be used for either a showdown or the necessary degree of cooperation – depending on personalities and events.

Since March 4, 1951, when, after a period of rapidly worsening relations, the Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury announced their mutual agreement on a policy of non-togetherness in the famous "Fed-Treasury accord," the image of the independence of the Fed in management of the country's monetary policy has been enormously magnified – to a point where it comes as a surprise, even to many people in Washington, that for almost exactly half of the Fed's 47-year existence its ex officio chairman was the Treasury Secretary.

The original Federal Reserve Act of December 23, 1913, was produced as part of Woodrow Wilson's program for the New Freedom. One of the New York bankers who had much to do with its origin, Paul M. Warburg, wrote: "Everybody will agree today that it would be difficult to imagine a banking system more cruel and more inefficient than that prevailing in the United States at the beginning of the Twentieth Century." The purpose of the act was to create a genuinely national banking system, with division of the country into districts with a Federal Reserve bank in each, linked to provide greater flexibility and stability in meeting the country's credit and currency needs.

The seven-man Board which topped the new structure, and was housed in the Treasury, included five members appointed by the President, plus the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency ex officio, with the former designated as the chairman. Board terms ran for ten years, board salaries (on a level with those of Cabinet members) were $12,000 a year. As the Board's active executive officers, the President was to designate two of the members Governor and Vice Governor; Charles S. Hamlin, the first Governor, began his service on August 10, 1914.

In spite of its Treasury super-structure, the Fed was developed from the first as an institution that would stand on its own feet. In the early years, its independence of political changes was twice emphasized. The sharp break in the political Executive in 1920, when the Wilson regime went out and the Harding regime came in, made Andrew Mellon Secretary of the Treasury, but W. P. G. Harding continued as the Fed's Governor from 1916 to 1922. When President Hoover went out and President Roosevelt came in, there was even less of a sharp break at the Fed – and for that matter at the Treasury. For though on Inauguration Day, 1933, Ogden Mills became ex officio in a special sense of the phrase, partly because of the gravity of the financial crisis and partly because of the dubious health of the new Secretary, Mr. Woodin, and the lack of previous financial experience of the new Under-Secretary, Mr. Acheson, Mr. Mills stayed on for some weeks and participated in Treasury activities.

Mr. Eugene Meyer, long-time government troubleshooter in Republican Administrations who had been Governor of the Fed since 1930, found it next to impossible to leave. As soon as FDR took office, both to get out of government and to get on with his pending purchase of the *Washington Post*, Mr. Meyer sent in a letter of resignation. Since the President didn't want him to leave, he got no reply. He sent in a second letter.

Then one day, while he was at lunch at the Washington Hotel across the street from the Treasury, a new group of guards, installed by Secretary Morganthau, took over the Treasury entrances. When the Chairman of the Fed returned, one of them stopped him: "You work here?" Mr. Meyer's reply was a hopeful second question: "You heard anything?"

The next increase in Fed independence came at the height of the New Deal, when Senator Carter Glass introduced new legislation that took it out of the Treasury, both physically and in terms of operating structure. (After sponsoring the original Federal Reserve Act that started life as the Glass-Owen bill, Glass had served as one of President Wilson's Secretaries of the Treasury and then had gone to the Senate.)

This Act of 1935, which became effective February 1, 1936, removed the two ex officio members from the Fed's board, changed its name to "the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System," increased its membership from six (provided in 1922) to seven, and their terms from twelve (provided in 1933) to fourteen years, again equalized salaries with those of the Cabinet at $15,000, and stipulated that the President designate two of the governors to serve four-year terms as Chairman and Vice Chairman. In 1937, the Fed moved into its magnificent structure on Constitution Avenue, some

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blocks away from the Department of the Treasury.

In his "Beckoning Frontiers," Mr. Marriner Eccles, who headed the board from 1934 to 1948 and was a member until mid-1951, quotes the testimony of Senator Glass at the hearings preceding the new act's passage: "When I was Secretary of the Treasury – I would not say in an offensive way that I dominated the Board, but I, at least, had considerable influence with the action of the Board, and I have suspected – being like Senator Couzens naturally of a suspicious nature – I have suspected that frequently since the Secretary of the Treasury has had too much influence upon the Board, and I do not think he ought to be there."

Events, however, shortly countered the new statutory separation: the beginning of World War II drew the Treasury and the Fed closer together. After US entry, public assurance was given that the financing operations of the government would be supported at par; from then until 1951, open market purchases by the Fed buoyed the market whenever other market forces threatened federal security prices.

So the first experience of the independence approved almost 20 years earlier came with the "Accord" of 1951, under which the Treasury and the Fed agreed to allow the free forces of the market thenceforth to set the prices of federal securities. A month after its conclusion, President Truman appointed Mr. William McChesney Martin, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury who had been Treasury representative in the negotiations leading to the accord, to be a governor and the chairman of the Fed. With the coming of Eisenhower and the accession of Mr. George Humphrey as Secretary of the Treasury, a new ideological concept was added; the belief that the Fed should be free from Executive interference was extended in the belief that the forces of the market should rule with a minimum of government interference throughout the economy. It is true that on occasion – during the economic recessions of the 1950's and at the time of certain Treasury financings – this philosophy wore a little thin. Mr. Martin had early seen the need for a body in which views could be exchanged; in September, 1957, the Secretary of the Treasury announced that a group composed of the President, the Economic Adviser on the White House Staff, the head of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Secretary of the Treasury and Chairman of the Fed would hold occasional consultations. At some of these, the Fed held the line when administration members forsook their ideological principles and vigorously presented proposals to "do something."

On Democratically-controlled Capitol Hill, the annual testimony of Chairman Martin before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report has been an occasion for open clashes on the merits of "low" versus "high" interest rates, and on the merits of emphasizing full employment versus control of inflation.

The fact that the Fed, like the General Accounting Office, is an agent of the Congress, not of the Executive Branch, and that the Fed exercises its power to create money and to issue Federal Reserve notes as a delegation of one of the main Constitutional powers granted to the legislative arm, makes its unreachableness additionally irksome to some Congressmen, particularly when complaints from constituents about "tight money" are loud. Recently, Congress has stopped equalizing Fed salaries with those of the Cabinet; in Washington precedence, Fed governors are now some distance down the line.

Now comes the Kennedy Administration, elected on a platform promising government action in many areas, and taking office when the national unemployment rate is in excess of six percent. For the first time, the conflict between the Fed and the Executive, deferred by events for a quarter-century, may be at hand.

The conditions of the conflict are subtle – the general difference between the New Deal and the New Frontier is that the situation in which the former operated invited broad strokes, while present needs are for delicate management. Also the success or failure of monetary policy is largely a matter of timing – of judgment as to when to ease up, when to initiate restriction on credit. But attention to timing becomes impossible in a policy-making process marked by continual reconciliation of opposing views. In 1961, the doors of the nation's banks are by no means closed – with photoelectric obsequiousness, they invite all comers. But their volume of business is not enough to move the economy forward.

In such circumstances, many of the choices to be made in the operation of monetary policy are technical rather than spectacular: Senator Douglas, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, feels that the Fed should use open market operations to provide monetary ease as an alternative to lowering reserve requirements for banks; he likewise would prefer to see the Fed, when it goes into the market, operate less exclusively in buying and selling short term bills – though the Fed denies that it has a "bills only" policy.

Barring death or resignation, President-elect Kennedy's first chance to appoint a new member of the Federal Reserve Board will come in 1962; Mr. Martin's present four-year term as chairman expires in 1963. Yet a workable arrangement, with major personalities operating on the same wave length, may still prove possible as a result of Mr. Kennedy's choice for Under-Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs. As research vice president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, the energetic and brilliant Robert V. Roosa has seen the problem from the side of the Fed, and now, looking at it from a Treasury desk, can be expected to exercise a unifying influence.

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THE TERMS FOR A "COALITION OF LIBERALS"

Will the growing stresses within Democratic ranks recently discussed in The New Republic *by Selig S. Harrison ("Needed – A New Bipartisanship?", October 14, 1960) sooner or later compel heavy reliance by the Kennedy Administration on liberal Republicans in Congress? Sooner than one might suppose, says the senior Senator from New York. But to get GOP cooperation the Administration must invite it "on the ground floor of program formulation in fields where it expects bipartisan support . . .* before *it invites support for the finished product." And civil rights legislation, he adds, is a "'must' for bipartisanship."*

Needed – A New Bipartisanship

by Jacob K. Javits

Bipartisan success or partisan failure – this in my view may well be the blunt choice facing the new Kennedy-Johnson Administration as it deals with Congress in the coming months. Will it prepare a strictly partisan program and then seek the bipartisan support needed for its enactment, or will it seek the ideas as well as the support of a liberal coalition? The answer to that question is of immense importance, for should partisan power plays be substituted for a bipartisan approach to key issues, the consequences could be disastrous to our position of peace leadership in the free world and to economic and social progress at home.

Those who see in the appointment of two distinguished Republicans to the Kennedy Cabinet – C. Douglas Dillon as Secretary of the Treasury and Robert S. McNamara as Secretary of Defense – decisive proof of the type of bipartisanship required may be mistaken. Members of the Cabinet operate departments and advise with the President, but the policy they administer is that of the Chief Executive. Whenever their ideas come into final conflict with those of the President, they must expect to be overruled. This alignment of responsibility is absolutely essential to preserve the proper role of the Executive under our form of government.

The narrow margin of the Kennedy-Johnson victory and the pickup of additional Republican strength in both houses normally would tend to intensify partisanship on both sides. When the difference between winning and losing the Presidency is the razor-thin margin of two-tenths of 1 percent of the major party vote, the desire to compile a distinctly Democratic or Republican record of achievement to place before the voters two and four years hence is very great. And although no one questions his lawful authority, Senator Kennedy by polling a fraction less than half the total popular vote starts his term without the innate advantage President Eisenhower had in his dealings with Congress in 1953 and 1957 immediately after smashing, personal victories at the polls. However, with a Democratic majority of 60 percent in the House and 65 percent in the Senate, the issue of "divided government" raised so often by Senator Kennedy in the campaign no longer exists. Instead, Senator Kennedy will have to contend with the very serious problem of a divided *party* with some powerful Southern members in Congress leading an ultra-conservative coalition which may be in militant opposition to many measures on which he has pledged action.

The fact is that despite its numerical size, the Democrats really hold a fragile party majority. The Senate is divided into three parts – Northern and Western Democrats (41), Southern Democrats (24) and Republicans (35). To make a majority, considering normal absences, it takes a combination of two of these three elements, or a coalition of Northern and Western Democrats with some Republicans.

Most significant was the vote of January 11 on amending the Senate rules to end the power of the filibuster to defeat or emasculate legislation. Both 1960 party platforms pledged just such a rules change. However, the Democrats divided 32 to 31, and the Republicans 18 to 15 against modifying Rule 22. This division shows very clearly that the fate of legislation in this Congress may be very dependent on whether a conservative or liberal coalition prevails.

One analysis of the North-South Democratic split shows that in the Senate the majority of voting Southern Democrats opposed the position of the majority of

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the voting Northern and Western Democrats on 40 percent of the 300 roll calls during the 1960 session. The Southern majority was on the winning side on about one out of every three of these votes, scoring 32 victories in the Senate and seven in the House. It is no surprise to see Democratic Party unity in Congress disintegrate in a civil rights debate – the Northern and Southern wing split on 27 civil rights votes last year – but of special interest are the growing number of other major issues which are widening the gap between them.

Last session, a majority of Southern Democrats in Congress compiled an eye-opening voting record in opposition to some vital measures.

Foreign policy: Such a majority in both houses voted against the authorization and appropriation bills for the Mutual Security program, and for cutbacks; in the House, such a majority opposed US participation in the vital International Development Association.

Depressed areas: In both houses, voted against the $251 million bill later vetoed by the President.

Minimum wage: In both houses, opposed raising the minimum wage to $1.25 per hour.

Aid to education: In both houses, voted against federal aid either for school construction or to raise teachers' salaries.

Housing: In the Senate, voted against authorizing new funds for public housing, and in the House opposed urban renewal and slum clearance grants.

Medical care for the aged: In the Senate, voted against the Kennedy-Anderson bill based on social security backed by Northern Democrats – and against the Republican voluntary plan to be financed out of general revenues – thus helping to defeat both plans.

What Not To Do

Gauged by what happened during the "bob-tailed" Congressional session last August, the future for a liberal coalition is not auspicious. Returning as the Democratic candidates, Senators Kennedy and Johnson launched a campaign to pass a much heralded list of "gut" measures intended to be billed as Democratic accomplishments to the voters that fall. The effort ended in dismal failure for all but the ultra-conservative coalition. Federal aid to education and the housing bill died in the House Rules Committee. Senator Kennedy did not get a compromise on the $1.25 minimum wage in conference and it died. Medical care for the great majority of aged was made a partisan issue and both approaches – Democratic and Republican – failed though the Republican approach was reflected in a new program for the medically indigent which could give help to as many as one million persons over 65.

The new Administration cannot afford to repeat the mistakes of the session last August, for if it does the result will be another rout of the liberals.

The August debate on medical care for the aged was a clear example of what not to do in 1961. Every Democrat was rallied to vote against the alternative plan of medical care for the aged sponsored by me and other liberal Republicans; it received 28 Republican votes and that was all. Then Senator Kennedy, who had refused to yield an inch, realized that he could not win over the Southern Democratic opposition to the "Social Security" medical care for the aged bill introduced by Senator Anderson of New Mexico and to which he was committed. He needed some liberal votes. So, just before the vote, he turned to the liberals on the Republican side of the aisle and asked for our support; he told us that a true liberal *has* to vote for a liberal measure regardless of defect, if it comes down to a choice of that bill or nothing at all for the time being. But liberal Republican views had been neither considered nor reflected in the Kennedy supported bill. So, understandably, we were not a sympathetic audience. The one Republican vote that the bill backed by Senator Kennedy received had been announced as committed in advance of these remarks – he got no others – and his bill was defeated. The approach of the Democratic leadership in the August session on the medical care for the aged bill sacrificed bipartisanship and with it the opportunity for solid accomplishment at the time of benefit to a majority of the aged.

Nonetheless, it is my conviction that the urgent need for dynamic action to sustain US peace leadership is so widely recognized by many in both parties that it provides the essential basis for that kind of new bipartisanship discussed in *The New Republic* by Selig S. Harrison ("Needed – A New Bipartisanship?", October 14, 1960). Despite recent discouragements, I believe we can cooperate in a truly effective bipartisan coalition to enact the kind of measures which the much talked about "ultra-conservative" coalition has successfully blocked in the past. But whether this actually happens depends very largely upon the attitude and policies of the new President and Vice President. If Senators Kennedy and Johnson learned the lessons apparent to many of us last August, they now must recognize that Republican and Democratic views have to be reflected in legislation before a bipartisan coalition can be expected to fight for it.

I can think of no areas in which a bipartisan coalition would prove more fruitful than in those considered the keys to US peace leadership: policies on aid and trade to win the neutralist nations – and effective progress in obtaining equal opportunity and personal dignity for all without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. A "must" measure in 1961 for Senate bipartisanship and the new Administration is prompt Senate ratification of US membership in the Organiza-

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tion for Economic Cooperation and Development, the most important effort in economic cooperation since the Marshall Plan. Through the OECD, the leading industrial nations of Western Europe will be encouraged to invest more of their resources to spur economic progress in the newly-developing, largely neutralist areas. The foreign aid responsibility, most of which we have had to carry for so long, will be more equitably distributed among free world governments with a greater likelihood that in size, scope and nature it can prove more adequate to the task. Indeed, this development should provide a better climate in the Congress for getting increased funds and long-term financing for the Development Loan Fund.

Bipartisanship can make easier the discharge of other heavy responsibilities. US partnership efforts with other nations in regional organizations such as NATO, SEATO and the Organization of American States need to be implemented in more extensive cultural and educational programs in addition to broader economic policies. We need to support greater authority for the United Nations and greater opportunity for its agencies along the lines, for example, of a permanent UN police force. The armed forces of neutrals sent by the UN to the border between Egypt and Israel and now to the Congo have proved how great is their need to help prevent conditions like those which have previously led to war. Long overdue is the contribution we can make to strengthening the rule of the law in the world through repeal of the Connally reservation to our membership on the International Court of Justice. Although this proposal for repeal always stirs up strong "ultra-conservative" protest, I believe it can be passed by a bipartisan coalition if the Democratic leadership will stand firmly behind it.

In the field of civil rights under President Eisenhower, a Republican-Democratic coalition in Congress enacted at least some part of the Administration's civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. The first act was passed at the start of Eisenhower's second term which he won by a landslide of popular and electoral votes; the second was put through a few months prior to what most thought correctly would be a hotly-contested Presidential race. Now we are being led to believe that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration will not put its weight behind the effort to seek new laws in the Congress more nearly to assure equal opportunity in education, jobs, housing and other civil rights. We are advised to take into account the considerable impact that the segregation forces in the Democratic Party in Congress can have on a new Democratic Administration anxious to put through its program – seven of the 12 chairmanships of major Senate committees are in the hands of Southern Democrats. But neither our national nor world situation will allow any such self-delusion – that we can dispense with civil rights legislation at this time. The hard core of resistance in certain areas of the South to the implementation of the Constitution will not be ended by anything less than new laws passed by the Congress. Little Rock was a historic example of the use of the federal executive power resulting in the dispatch of troops to prevent interference with a court order to enforce public school desegregation. It was succeeded all too soon by New Orleans and the defiance of federal law by the authorities of Louisiana.

The Republicans and Civil Rights

The North-South schism in the Democratic Party may make this a hard problem for the new Administration, but nonetheless new civil rights legislation is a "must" for the nation and a "must" for bipartisanship. President-elect Kennedy ran on a civil rights plank built on many pledges requiring legislative implementation. For example, and I quote from this plank:

"Technical and financial assistance should be given to school districts facing special problems of transition [in desegregating]."

"For this and for the protection of all other constitutional rights of Americans, the Attorney General should be empowered and directed to file civil injunction suits in federal courts to prevent the denial of any civil rights on grounds of race, creed, or color."

"The new Democratic Administration will support federal legislation establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission effectively to secure for everyone the right to equal opportunity for employment."

"The new Democratic Administration will broaden the scope and strengthen the powers of the present Commission on Civil Rights and make it permanent."

The Republican Party is bound to act legislatively on what is the strongest civil rights plank ever unanimously adopted by a major party. It pledges:

"Legislation to provide that the completion of six primary grades in a state-accredited school is conclusive evidence of literacy for voting purposes."

"Legislation to authorize the Attorney General to bring actions for school desegregation in the name of the United States in appropriate cases, as when economic coercion or threat of physical harm is used to deter persons from going to court to establish their rights."

"Our continuing support of the President's proposal, to extend federal aid and technical assistance to schools which in good faith attempt to desegregate."

"Continued support for legislation to establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts."

"Opposition to the use of federal funds for the con-

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struction of segregated community facilities."

Because there is no deep ideological division in the Republican Party on civil rights but just the opposite – a historic identification with the struggle to advance civil rights – the Republicans' role on civil rights can prove decisive in the Congress. This issue is worthy of our best as it may well go far to determine in the eyes of the peoples of the newly-developing nations our nation's moral fitness for world leadership.

The slow pace of desegregation, the overt resistance by state officials to federal court orders as in the tense New Orleans case, the challenge to the South of the "sit-in" movement, the disproportionate number of Negro workers who are hit hard and hit first when unemployment rises – these are but some of the compelling domestic reasons why the new Administration must not tolerate a "token" battle for new civil rights legislation this session. At the very least, we must pass legislation to give the Attorney General power to institute suits in representative civil rights cases, including those over school desegregation; to give a statutory base to the Federal Committee on Government Contracts; to obtain equal job opportunities at least among government order contractors and subcontractors and affected trade unions; to provide technical and financial assistance for school districts seeking to desegregate notwithstanding obstructionist efforts by their states; and to extend the life of the President's Civil Rights Commission. It is true that in the Senate most of these proposals fell before a Southern Democratic filibuster last year, allowing only a skeleton bill on voting rights to pass. But since then, 17 new nations in Africa alone have come into existence in a world where more than one and a quarter billion people have skins that are black, yellow or brown; what concerns us most about them is that they shall trust in the sincerity of our efforts to help the world's colored races progress. Yet they cannot be expected to respect fully our leadership until they are positive that we respect them. In this context, any partisan risks which are thought to be involved should the new Administration press for the passage of major civil rights legislation in 1961 must be subordinated to the overriding national interest in maintaining a firm policy of non-discrimination and equal opportunity.

A Basis for Bipartisanship

The motivation behind a move by Republicans into a bipartisan coalition must be clearly understood. Simply to limit ourselves to the role of opposition is not compatible with the objectives we want realized for the American people. Republicans of whom I speak do not believe in heavy federal spending programs as necessarily a miraculous cure-all for economic ailments; but we do see for the federal government fulfillment of its legitimate role as a facilitator and cooperator with the private economy in the development of the country, the advancement of individual welfare and human rights, and in meeting our international responsibilities. From that philosophic springboard, such Republicans have developed and supported positive approaches to the critical problems of increasing productivity, housing, health, education, social security, unemployment compensation, civil rights, farm and national resource policies, and foreign policies essential to effective peace leadership. Republicans should continue to originate ideas and proposals in these fields. But since our primary purpose is to see our Republican Party a truly national party of service to the American people, we should welcome the opportunity to increase our contribution to the legislative result still further through effective bipartisan action when it is in order.

Republicans can take great pride in what they have helped to accomplish for this nation through bipartisanship when they have been the minority as well as the majority in Congress. Sen. Arthur Vandenberg led many of his colleagues out of an isolationist wilderness in the early 1940's as bipartisan support helped our country mobilize to wage the war and then the peace. His most signal achievement was Congressional approval of the United Nations, reversing the verdict of the 1920's when the Senate rejected the League of Nations. Had the "Do Nothing" 80th Congress deserved its label, the Marshall Plan would not have materialized. It became a reality because the Republican Congress did not sit on its hands and stamp it a partisan proposal. The momentum gained from our first major economic and military aid venture has been sustained in the eight Eisenhower years which saw the development of newly generated economic power in Western Europe.

The basis, the need and the opportunity for bipartisanship in the coming 87th Congress is thus clearly established. The election results and the growing aggressiveness of the ultra-conservatives combine to make liberal programs of the new Administration vulnerable. But the sanctions for a coalition of liberals must come from President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson to be successful. The new Administration would be wise to invite comment and cooperation from the Republicans interested in the bipartisanship I have described on the ground floor of program formulation in fields where it expects bipartisan support. This should be done *before* it invites such support for the finished product. Much of the greatness of our nation resides in our ability in a time of crisis to help define our role of leadership by policy, precept and precedent at home and abroad through bipartisanship wherever it can prove effective.

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Sir Walter Scott and Eisenhower

by Alexander Welsh

Hardly anyone ventures to speak of the eight-year tenure of President Eisenhower without recourse to the word "hero." The disproportion between his reputation and his deeds has compelled everyone to recite the power of "myth" in politics. The opposition explains the Eisenhower phenomenon by some such proposition as this:

> "Does it not seem . . . as if a character to be put in this responsible situation of candidate for the highest favor of the public at large, or of the fair in particular, who is to conciliate all suffrages and concentrate all interests, must really have nothing to him to please or give offense, that he must be left a negative, feeble character without intractable or uncompromising points, and with a few slight recommendations and obvious good qualities which everyone may be supposed to improve upon and fill up according to his or her inclination or fancy and the model of perfection previously existing in the mind?"

In short, the wide base of the hero's popularity, instead of elevating him, reduces him to the lowest common ideal. These words, however, were written 144 years ago by William Hazlitt. Nor was Hazlitt criticizing the role of any real person. He was explaining the inactivity and weakness of the heroes of Sir Walter Scott.

The heroes of the once-popular Waverly Novels are uniformly good and upright young gentlemen. They are frequently civilians who also bear a military title. They believe implicitly in private property, though never in selfishly pursuing it. They are even somewhat wary of the pursuit of happiness. They stand for honor, prudence, and principle. But in fact Waverly and the others never actually *do* anything at all. "Instead of acting," observed Hazlitt, "they are acted upon, and keep in the back-ground and in neutral posture, till they are absolutely forced to come forward . . ." The description reminds one of Eisenhower's tortured decision to intervene at Little Rock.

Though the heroes of Scott devote themselves to private property, they are shy of the actual competition of economic forces, and what they gain for themselves comes to them by excellent good fortune – never by work, or cleverness, or violence. If there were any doubt of a hero's success, says Hazlitt, or if he "were obliged to employ the ordinary and vulgar means to establish [his] superiority," he would not be a hero. Eisenhower has consistently regarded himself as "above politics" and refused – most notably – to get into "the gutter" with the late Senator McCarthy.

At one point the hero of *The Fortunes of Nigel* suddenly wonders why he is "a mere victim of those events, which I have never attempted to influence." The hero of Scott is never an actual leader. His utter respect for law and authority prohibits him from becoming a leader in any vital sense. In his 1956 campaign biography of Eisenhower, Robert Donovan noted parenthetically that the President never spoke of "my cabinet" or "my administration," but rather of "*the* cabinet" or "*the* administration." Nothing in Donovan's book is more suggestive: Eisenhower, who also has a deep respect for authority, never in his heart conceived of himself as the real boss.

Here are some other noteworthy opinions of Scott's literary creation. Walter Bagehot observed that his heroes "have little personality. . . . They are always said to be sensible, and bear out the character by being not unwilling sometimes to talk platitudes." As if he were TRB recounting Eisenhower's sins of omission in *The New Republic*, J. C. Adolphus charged that the hero in Scott's verse, as well as his prose romances, was frequently not where he should be: in the *Lady of the Lake* "Roderick Dhu is vanquished; Malcolm [the hero] is not there; a battle is fought at Loch Katrine; he is not there; Douglas mixes in the royal sports, offends the king, and is borne off a prisoner; Malcolm is not there; the fair Ellen makes her way through the soldiery at Stirling Castle, and presses for access to the monarch; Malcolm is not there."

Thomas Carlyle pressed the argument against the author himself. The bitterness of his indictment of Scott stems from sheer exasperation. Carlyle was also understandably envious of a writer who possessed an audience but refused to instruct it. Carlyle complained that Scott had no program. "Opinions, emotions, principles, doubts, beliefs, beyond what the intelligent country gentleman can carry along with him, are not to be found" in these books.

The ultimate bitterness of liberal critics of President Eisenhower has a similar cause. The uniquely popular President was the one man able to convince the American people of the reality of the Chinese Communist state; he was the one man able to create at least in *this* country a mood favorable to disarmament; he was the one man who could have destroyed McCarthyism without sacrifice to himself; he was the one man in position to do most for the American Negro. Yet these are four of the things that Eisenhower did not do.

The literary analogue to this inactive President suggests that he belongs to another age. The anachronism of a century and a half is certainly worth pondering. There may even exist a tenuous literary inspiration for the President, since the Western novels which Eisenhower enjoys derive from the romance of Scott. There are also biographical links between the President and the author of Waverley. Abbotsford and the Gettysburg farm are both local reminders of the heroic past, and

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both acquired by the unheroic means of selling books. But whatever historical or biographical insights the parallel may suggest, these are overshadowed by a graver anomaly: the thought that the living hero finds his closest parallel in a hero of fiction.

It would be pleasant if life in the sixties (or in any decade) were only a romance, a projection of our wishes. In his first inaugural address President Eisenhower announced that the "forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history." He prefaced this speech with an original prayer for "the power to discern clearly right from wrong." In romance the stark confrontation of good and evil can never be said to be rare; and the difference of right from wrong is always clearly discernible.

But the notorious fact about this kind of fiction (Sir Walter's kind) is that nothing ever *happens* – the crisis always resolves itself at the last minute. The hero's life and fortunes are continually threatened by evil but never destroyed. In *Ivanhoe* both heroines are about to be raped, and old Isaac of York is about to be tortured: but the sounding of a bugle outside the walls of Torquilstone Castle forestalls the crisis. In this dream context an inactive hero is clearly adequate. His adversaries perish of their own accord. At the end of the story Ivanhoe must save Rebecca from the stake by championing her in a trial by combat. But at the pitch of battle, "unscathed" by Ivanhoe, Bois-Guilbert dies "a victim to the violence of his own contending passions." So shall perish, we sometimes imagine, the entire Communist world. Curiously enough, the orthodox Marxist treasures the same view of the Capitalist world.

Hazlitt's theory of an imaginative cipher that cannot offend the public taste only partly explains the passive hero of Scott. The hero does nothing because he dares not injure the taut moral fabric of his society. The hero represents the morality of restraint. He himself explains his passive role when he speaks of what "my prudence and my principle alike forbid" and "the necessity of suppressing my passion." His author, likewise, commonly refers to "the restraints and duties of civilized life," the importance of "resolute self-denial," and the healthfulness of "the sacrifice of passion to principle." This language typifies a moral outlook for which Scott cannot be condemned. Like Sigmund Freud, he found restraint (or repression) the essence of civilized life.

The language of restraint has also become familiar in the voice of President Eisenhower. He refrained from discussing personalities, and hoped to restrain Congress. Most passionately he would check inflation, and he decried fiscal irresponsibility. He would replace "loose" money with "tight." Critics of his administration have belabored the inconsistency of Eisenhower's talk of God and morality with his failure to recognize the plight of the Negro, or of the people who pay doctors' bills. But clearly no such inconsistency obtains. The morality of restraint can have no logical relevance to the compassionate side of such issues. It goes without saying that, from "containment" to deterrent" to "control," our foreign policy depends upon the same vocabulary.

One could be more confident of transcending the politics of restraint if they were the peculiar prosperity of the outgoing president's personality. Bagehot's criticism of the Waverley Novels reminds us, however, that the passive hero has little personality of his own. Neither the platitudes nor the underlying conceptions are of Eisenhower's invention. On October 27 of last year *The New York Times* came out "on balance" of Kennedy. On November 11 the *Times* analyzed the returns. "While we supported Mr. Kennedy, we think it is a good thing that the election was so close." The meaning of "on balance" began to be clear. Why should a close election be a good thing? "It should serve as a restraining force, as a reminder to the Kennedy administration that it has no mandate to embark on drastic changes of policy, either foreign or domestic." And to stress the point, the *Times* repeated, "the electoral results emphasize the necessity of restraint." We who possess wealth and power and order instinctively regard civilization as static: government is therefore something that withstands rather than exerts the pressure of change. On November 13 the editors of the *Times* concluded their remarks with a reminder that "although Administrations change, there is only one United States Government."

President Eisenhower recently issued a proclamation (December 7, 1960) urging public and private agencies to observe the 100th anniversary of the Civil War:

> "That war was America's most tragic experience. But like most truly great tragedies, it carries with it an enduring lesson and a profound inspiration. It was a demonstration of heroism and sacrifice by men and women of both sides who valued principle above life itself and whose

My Mother's Sack of Hair

As trouble in a sack, a golden trouble,
Lovely unlucky, fated of a fable –
My mother's gold hair stuffed in a flour sack:
"To sell" but kept when everything went slack
In the middle of Depression. Then, for real,
My father's fortune prepared the pinching meal.
Even spring he brought the low sky home
And black each year. O innocent bride and groom!
Who opened the sack that let out all that trouble?
Not mother, who loved her early crowning fable
Of Mary Pickford and millionaires of love
Alive in the sack her raw hands moved above
Before the plunge into the kept gold hair
That dreamed from her head before this graying affair.
Cut off "to sell," her wealth of fondness flowing,
Lovely, unlucky, fated, not for growing.

LEONARD E. NATHAN

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devotion to duty is a part of our nation's noblest tradition."

The principles of the men and women of that war were diametrically opposed, North and South. How can one celebrate both sets of principles in one breath? Only by celebrating the *death* of the adherents – by trading all ideals for one rather hazily understood concept of "honor" – a concept that implies the opposition of ideals to life *in general*. That "principle" should ultimately conflict with "life itself" is the gloomiest possibility inherent in civilization. Falstaff, who understood the human side of the problem, observed that "honor hath no skill in surgery." Mark Twain, who thought that the "medieval chivalry silliness" had gone far enough, accused Sir Walter Scott of *causing* the American Civil War.

Two Returns to Africa

by William Jay Smith

The name of Isak Dinesen is today so familiar to all of us that we may forget that just over twenty-five years ago it was completely new to the world. When *Seven Gothic Tales* first appeared in 1934, published in the United States for the first time anywhere, its readers knew only that it was the work of a Danish author writing in English.

Shadows on the Grass
by Isak Dinesen
(Random House; $3)

Tourist in Africa
by Evelyn Waugh
(Little, Brown; $3.75)

Soon afterwards they learned, of course, that Isak Dinesen was in reality Baroness Karen Blixen of Rungstedlund near Copenhagen. Dinesen was her maiden name; Isak she had chosen because it meant literally "laughter" in Hebrew. From her own account in *Out of Africa* her readers discovered, moreover, that Isak Dinesen was a woman quite as extraordinary as any tale she had told, that she had lived for 17 years in Kenya, had run a coffee farm, hunted lions, walked with Masai warriors and sat with Arab sheiks. While waiting for the rainy season in Africa, she had begun to put down some of the tales and fantasies which she told to entertain a friend on his return from his safaris, one who had, she said, "a trait of character which to me is very precious, he like to hear a story told."

"Who are you?" the lady in black asks the Cardinal Salviati in one of the Baroness' tales; and the Cardinal replies, "Allow me, in order to save my modesty, to answer you in the classic manner, and to tell you a story." Isak Dinesen's answer is always in the classic manner; and her stories like the pleats of an accordion fold one into the next, or rest like Chinese boxes one within the other.

In her new book, she returns to the Africa she knew and loved. She returns to it now in dreams just as she returned during her African stay to the dream-world of Europe in her *Seven Gothic Tales*. In "Barua a Soldani" ("The King's Letter"), which is the central story of this collection and as fine as any she has produced, she describes killing a lion one New Year's morning long ago with her friend Denys Finch-Hatton. She thought that the lion, which was feeding on a giraffe, was the exact image of the *lion posant or* on the royal coat of arms of Denmark, and she decided therefore that it was only fitting that the skin should be sent to the King of Denmark. It was; and many months later, she received a letter from King Christian X, written in his own hand, thanking her for the gift. She had the letter in her pocket when she rode out on the farm to find a native whose leg had been smashed by a falling tree. Since she had no medicine to ease his pain, she held to his chest the king's letter and it proved to be what she said it would – *mzuri sana*, very excellent indeed. The letter, covered with blood and filth and passed about in a pouch, became a relic cherished for its miraculous powers.

"Barua a Soldani" ends thus: "The blood on my sheet of paper is not proud or edifying. It is the blood of a dumb nation. But then the handwriting on it is that of a king, *mokone yake*. No ode will be written about my letter; still, today it is, I believe, history as much as the relic of Rosenborg. Within it, in paper and blood, a covenant has been signed between the Europeans and the Africans – no similar document of this same relationship is likely to be drawn up again."

Last year when I had the honor of introducing Isak Dinesen at the Poetry Center in New York, she told "Barua a Soldani" to a large, enthusiastic and astonished audience. And "told" is the right word: she did not read and she did not recite. Her first words, uttered in a voice amazingly firm and commanding to rise from so frail a body, were that she came from a long line of story-tellers. And so she began to tell this story, and many members of her audience returned to hear it a second and then a third time, no doubt realizing that they would never again hear another like it.

The wording of it was almost exactly as it is printed here with only the subtlest variations from one evening to the next, for each telling seemed to her a new experience; but the ending was, as I recall, different. Perhaps because she was aware of her physical presence, and of the audience's interest in her as a teller of tales, her last sentence, although I do not have her exact words and put them badly, was to the effect that if any words of hers could, like those of the king, in any way alleviate human suffering, she would not have written in vain. Isak Dinesen may have excised this final sentence because she did not wish there to be any suggestion of condescension or self-aggrandizement. But she has at the same time always been aware of the noble, and ennobling, role of the artist. In one of the *Last Tales*, "Converse at Night in Copenhagen," the poet, speaking of his role in life, says: "Crushing in its weight is my own covenant with the Lord, yet it is, at the same time, highly gay and glorious!"

It is this same crushing covenant that has produced the great stories of Isak Dinesen; and it is curious but significant that her recent work, produced at a time of great personal suffering and dictated often a few paragraphs at a

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time from her bed, has still the "gay and glorious" quality of some 17th-Century classic.

"The introduction into my life of another race, essentially different from mine, in Africa became to me a mysterious expansion of my world," Isak Dinesen says here. Her world has been expanding ever since. Evelyn Waugh has also returned to Africa in his new book. He returns physically, and so little does his world expand with his journey, that some readers of *Tourist in Africa* may feel that he might better have stayed at home. Mr. Waugh declares that at 55 he is not at the age best suited to travel – "too old for the jungle, too young for the beaches" – and then it is difficult in a world laid waste by tourism and politics to find anywhere to go. India, where wine is prohibited, cannot be long endured; Africa "without preoccupations, with eyes reopened to the exotic" seems to be the ticket. And off he goes to escape the rigors of the English winter to Genoa, and then through the Suez Canal and down the East Coast of Africa, to Kenya. Then leaving his ship at Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika, he continues by land through Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, where he rejoins his ship. He steps ashore at Southampton buoyantly, "very different from the old fellow who crept into the train south two months ago."

How different? Here is Mr. Waugh in Kenya: "The Club is unchanged since I was last here, a spacious, old-fashioned building designed to catch every breath of air. The monsoon was blowing. It was deliciously cool, but it is not easy to read *The Times* India-paper edition in deep shade and a brisk wind. Have the editors, I wonder, considered what a high proportion of their copies are perused under fans?"

The ruffling of the pages of *The Times* continues throughout these pages, and Mr. Waugh looks up from time to time to make his crotchety, pointed, and often very funny comments, but one cannot help feeling that he is really more interested in his paper than in his surroundings or his companions. "As happier men watch birds, I watch men," he writes. "They are less attractive, but more various." The man-watching, however, does not add up to much here, and the places that seem to have been waiting for years for Mr. Waugh's sharp eye are passed over far too lightly.

It may be wrong to compare two such totally different books, and certainly any literary pantheon would include both writers. But in their present return to Africa Mr. Waugh goes further and sees less, while the Baroness, distant, old, and ill, is always infinitely closer to, her subject.

The Role of the Newspaper

by Irving Dilliard

In one of the significant books of our century – *Human Nature in Politics*, first published in London in 1908 and hence a force in the world of politics going back more than a half century – Graham Wallas observes that

"... If a newspaper is to live as a political force it must impress itself on men's minds as holding day by day to a consistent view. The writers, not only from editorial discipline, but from the instinctive desire to be understood, write in the character of their paper's personality. If it is sold to a proprietor holding or wishing to advocate different opinions, it must either frankly proclaim itself as a new thing or must make it appear by slow and solemn argumentative steps that the new attitude is a necessary development of the old.

"It is therefore rightly felt that a capitalist who buys a paper for the sake of using its old influence to strengthen a new movement is doing something to be judged by other moral standards than those which apply to the purchase of so much printing-machinery and paper. He may be destroying something which has been a stable and intelligible entity for thousands of plain people living in an otherwise unintelligible world, and which has collected round it affection and trust as real as was ever inspired by a statesman or a monarch."

The Fading American Newspaper
by Carl E. Lindstrom
(Doubleday; $3.95)

Carl E. Lindstrom, a former executive editor of *The Hartford Times* and now professor of journalism at the University of Michigan, saw precious little of that kind of journalistic trusteeship in the United States as he conducted the surveys of the American press which he finds to be fading in the sharpness of its impression if indeed not fading from view. It is not just that newspapers are bought and sold and merged or killed off outright – a trend that has removed all daily competition in 20 states and leaves 11 other states with competition in only one city. What survives after consolidation seldom thinks of itself as the means – past, present or future – which makes the world intelligible to many thousands of "plain people." Instead of being regarded as loyal adherents whose lives are helped and guided by the arrival of their daily newspaper, the readers are reckoned for the most part only as counters in circulation struggles, as the potential purchasers to whom advertisements are addressed, and as participants in promotion contests whose awards run into many thousands of dollars.

From the standpoint of newspaper prestige and standing in modern America, Mr. Lindstrom's book is dark indeed. His opening words leave no doubt about his thesis:

"A man no longer needs to read a daily newspaper in order to be well-informed. Conversely, no single

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newspaper, with two or three brilliant exceptions, will bring an educated man anything like all the news he needs to know of his city, the nation and the world."

Accepting this as true, then what is responsible for so sorry a state of affairs in the press of the free country whose very success in self-government, to say nothing of global leadership, depends on well-informed and wisely-directed voters?

Lindstrom fixes the cause, or at least a major part of the cause, in the passing of newspaper control from the minds of the editors to the hands of the business managers. It is, he finds, the counting house which runs far too much of American journalism today. With counting house control goes primary concern as to costs and disbursements and balance sheets. Syndicated columnists are cheaper than comparable staff writers and so columnists are bought to provide some measure of inspiration and leadership. But since the columnists must write for national audiences local leadership declines and the newspaper loses force as a community influence. And as the newspapers become more standardized, more and more alike from city to city, their reason for being decreases and the merger process spreads. The one feeds the other.

There is hardly a part of the average newspaper that Mr. Lindstrom does not dissect. He tells us that the traditional way of writing news story leads – person, place, time, result and reason all in the first paragraph – takes the drama and life from the news presentation. He says that news photography "is so cliché-ridden that what few news pictures convey a generous message are fortuitous." He comes out strongly for reform of headlines against which he brings an extensive series of indictments.

Nor does he find all blessings in labor-saving devices. The telephone interview may take less of the reporter's time, but it fails "to employ that most reliable instrument, the eye." Daily newspapers are up against some hard facts and basic decisions are ahead of them. As Mr. Lindstrom says, news has found fresh channels: "There is the written word in periodicals, weekly and monthly; even books report with impact. News is vocalized in broadcasts and animated in films. As journalism migrates into new areas of communication, its practitioners, too, are on the move. The commerce in information flourishes and quickens its tempo, new skills are developed, and the problem for the newspaper journalist is to keep his readers from migrating, too."

It soon will be 15 years since the Hutchins Commission issued its report, "A Free and Responsible Press," which newspaper offices in general dismissed as the vaporizings of academicians who knew little or nothing about daily journalism. It ought to be harder to dismiss Carl Lindstrom's book since he was made a "distinguished service member" of the American Society of Newspaper Editors only a year and a half ago.

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ART

Prendergast and His Cloud

It's not hard to guess why Maurice Brazil Prendergast's reputation as a painter should have been under a cloud for so long. It wasn't, to be sure, ever a very heavy cloud or a very dark cloud. It was rather like the unseen clouds the effect of which often seem to mute the light and color in his painting. The scene of those holiday throngs he painted is never actually dark, but it isn't bright, either. The paint itself often has a granular quality about it, particularly evident between the easily distinguishable individual strokes of the brush; that graining helps cut down the light. Those strokes, too, while they are obviously the substance making the picture, often strike the observer as a kind of translucent or semi-transparent basket-weave fence between the view and the viewer. It isn't, one declares, so much a cloud between the holiday throngs and the sun: for them the world may be and very likely is beaming with sunshine; it is rather this almost palpable atmosphere, this visual fence, the artist has put up between the people in the picture and the people looking at the picture. Among the latter, of course, is the artist himself.

Paintings by Maurice Prendergast
Hartford, through February 5
Whitney, New York, Feb. 21-April 2
San Francisco, April 22-June 3
Cleveland, June 20-July 30

The cloud over Prendergast as painter has been of about the same quality. For 20th-Century American art, he has never been part of "the enemy," like, for example, Bouguereau, Bierstadt and every illustrator in the business, from Gibson and Parrish to Norman Rockwell. On the other hand, his reputation has always been rather dim. There has been something of a barrier, a semi-transparent fence, between Prendergast and art in America. He first impressed himself on the American consciousness to any great extent in 1908 as a member of the contemporary Black Gang, "The Eight." In general the Eight were denounced for being so free and easy on the drawing and for using such non-artistic subjects as the sidewalks of New York. Those who did manage to accept the group as a whole often singled out Prendergast as the weak member of the team. The gusto for life and paint alike that characterized the work of Sloan and Glackens seemed completely missing in Prendergast. He was a quiet man and he painted quiet pictures. Several of them were in the Armory Show in 1913 where they were effectively obscured by the uproar over Duchamps and the rest of the new French. Prendergast died in 1924, having obtained a modest acceptance, though for most of his 65 years he and his brother supported themselves by making frames. In the thirties the dominance of the American Scene brought a boost in the stock of the Eight and again Prendergast was excepted, per-

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haps because Paris and Venice loom as large in his work as Central Park and the New England Beaches. Worse, he was never in the Midwest in his life.

Another decade and the discovery was made – in the light of which we still live – that the American Scene was a snare and a delusion. The Eight were unmasked as premature American Scenists, unoriginal, unmodern and hardly to be distinguished from the frightful old Academicians whom they'd fought so desperately. By now Prendergast was separated from his fellow members of the Eight as a feeble Impressionist or, occasionally, as a provincial pointillist.

All this is now in the process of revision, and high time. The chief instrument of the revision is a big, impressive exhibition making its way across the country from Prendergast's Boston. It opened at the Museum of Fine Arts there partly, in the words of the director, Perry Rathbone, in search of "the grace of a redeeming act." Like many a penitent in search of grace, Mr. Rathbone may have gone overboard in hailing Prendergast as "the first American who deliberately cast aside a strictly representational approach . . . permitted artistic means to dominate the subject matter . . . the first . . . to admit the primacy of the imagination and to abide by the basic principles which were to govern the vital art of the 20th-Century."

These several clauses wipe out of existences a good number of good American painters. Arthur Dove certainly cast the representational approach further aside than Prendergast ever did and for that matter what about MacDonald-Wright? Didn't Ryder not only admit but insist upon the primacy of the imagination? So, well back in the 19th Century, did John Quidor and Washington Allston. As to the final clause, in view of Prendergast's rather dim reputation through most of the 20th Century so far, surely it would be safer to say he abided by the century's basic principles as we now understand them to have been to date. It's not only that new principles are likely to turn up in the sixties and seventies – as they did in the twenties, thirties and fifties – but our view of the principles at work earlier is almost bound to change in the decades ahead.

If all this makes the appreciation of art seem charged with relativity, this is an accurate view of an unfortunate condition. The real danger of Mr. Rathbone's praise is not that he may overrate Prendergast, but that the special grounds he selects for praise may actually underrate the painter. Suppose the art of this century had taken some other course, one with no possible relation to Prendergast. Would his painting, then, have been without value? Does the value reside in the work or in its relation to subsequent art? The same questions arose a few years ago with the revival of the late paintings of Monet. Under the Cubist ascendency the late Monet was widely believed to be a bum. "Candy box" was the critical term for all those water lilies and lilacs. Then, during the period of Jackson Pollock as Adonais, the late Monet was found to have been a proto-Pollock and therefore of considerable merit. Where does the merit reside? In the paintings? In their presumed relation to Pollock? Or in the new perceptions of officials freed from the blinders of old doctrine by tying on new blinders and new doctrine? With Prendergast as with Monet, the challenge is to get to the art without getting bogged down in the art history.

When you get to the art you do not find at all a man totally absorbed in technique and using the holiday scenes as an excuse for weaving tapestries of paint. The tapestries and the holidays are one and the chief artistic suggestion is not so much of any other painter then or now as it is of Proust. In this magnificent collection of oils, water colors, pastels and monotypes, you will find an occasional reminder of Gilberte in the Bois and even of Odette within

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Alexander Welsh *is an English instructor at Yale.* Leonard E. Nathan *teaches at the University of California.* William Jay Smith, *poet-in-residence at Williams College and a member of the Vermont State Legislature, is the author of* The Spectra Hoax, *to be published next month.* Irving Dilliard *was for many years the editor of the editorial page of* The St. Louis Post-Dispatch. *He was recently elected a trustee of the University of Illinois.*

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that tinted atmosphere beneath her parasol; you will often find a seascape with a frieze of girls; more important you will see an artistic sensitivity pulsing toward the feel and look of remembered outings, a sensitivity equally aware of the thing remembered and of the artistic act of remembrance. The patient weave of Prendergast's paint is fairly analogous to the spell of the Proustian prose. Then, at the very top of the show, several important works combine the frieze of summer maidens with nudes sitting or standing or passing by on horseback. The remembrance becomes of things dreamt and the weave of paint stifles shock in the view and in the viewer. FRANK GETLEIN

THEATER

Criticism and Journalism

A few weeks ago, an indignant subscriber wrote a letter to this magazine, hotly protesting my "uninformed comments" on the theater which he proceeded to characterize, in a flamboyant Augustan manner, as "unadulterated tripe." The stimulus for this wholly unsolicited flattery was a negative notice I had written of the Phoenix's *She Stoops to Conquer*. Observing that most of the "competent drama critics" on the newspapers had confirmed him in his enthusiasm for the production, this correspondent enclosed a rave notice from the *Times* as incontrovertible proof of my professional "incompetence." After stating that all who love the theater should support ambitious groups like the Phoenix, he concluded his mash note with a demand for an "apology" or, at least, a "reasonable evaluation" of my outrageous conduct.

Confound your infernal impudence, I roared, eagerly dipping my pen in formaldehyde and framing a reply in my most poisonous style – but as I paused to consider the implications of this letter my belligerency vaporized into astonishment. Clearly, this correspondent had assumed (1) that I am accountable for correctly anticipating *his* response to a play, (2) that critical "competence" is measured by the writings of newspaper reporters, and (3) that a drama critic has a duty to love the theater! Where had he picked up such outlandish notions? Had I inadvertently put them into his noggin? Quailing at the thought that others might be nourishing similar delusions, I determined to make my critical purpose – clear enough to me – explicit to the more benighted of my readers. So here, in lieu of an apology, is an explanation of why I do and do not write.

First, dear reader, let me urgently assure you that I do not write in order to arbitrate your theater-going activities. I confess to the darkest ignorance about who you are, how much you know, or what you consider a good play, so it would be the sheerest impertinence for me to try to guide your taste. I have a further confession to make – I am not even sure that you exist. So to be perfectly safe, I imagine you as an ideal spectator, one who responds only to the best in the theater, and who therefore visits it very seldom, generally with profound distaste. If it depended on you and me, the Broadway box office would close tomorrow, and all the producers would go back into the real estate business – if, indeed, they ever left it. For while we share a fanatical devotion to dramatic art, we suspect the "theater" is very rarely a place where this is displayed.

Now if you find this character fits you, then we shall be friends and communicants; but I grant that you may wish to dissociate yourself from such a rigid description. Perhaps you are a "common" spectator, and for the sake of a few hours of relaxation are willing to accept considerably less than perfection. If so, depart from me, along with your brethren the "common" readers and the "common" man, and go consult a "common" reviewer. You will find him in your newspaper, especially hired to cater to your taste, his virtue being that he knows just as little as you, and sometimes even less, having qualified for his present job by his supreme averageness. What he practices is called journalism, a technique created in the 18th Century with the rise of democracy, the lowering of standards, and the growth of a large lay public which wanted to be informed quickly without troubling their brains too much. He is your man, if your demands are not too severe, for he is much more eager than I to proclaim new masterpieces – inflating reputations, publicizing personalities, and boosting the economy of the theater along the way. But do not, like our indignant Augustan, confuse his work with criticism which was invented by Aristotle, designed for experts, dedicated to absolute standards, and practiced today by very few.

For the function of criticism does not lie in the designation of some trumpery piece as "the best damn show I've seen in years." It is, in the language of a modern Aristotelean named T. S. Eliot, "the commentation and analysis of art and works of art . . . for the elucidation of art and the correction of taste." By this definition, to be sure, we all stand condemned of non-critical, (if not journalistic) practices, because in an age of bad literature like our own there is

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little else to be written on a regular basis – unless you would prefer a depth analysis of *Under the Yum Yum Tree*. A critic working in a journalistic capacity, unwilling to lower his standards, and continually confronted with the spurious, the mediocre, and the false, can become a social philosopher like Bernard Shaw, an aesthetician of acting like Stark Young, or an analyst of dramatic technique like Eric Bentley – if he works for a mass magazine, he is more likely to become an entertaining stylist like Kenneth Tynan. But he establishes his claim to serious criticism when discussing a genuine work of art, bringing his whole experience and expertise into the service of analysis, illumination, and interpretation. And this is why I bite with such obvious relish into the occasional masterpieces that come my way; and why, lacking these, I often choose to belabor you with extra-critical lectures on the dismal state of our culture, our theater, and our national spirit. For if the critic is the humble servant of genuine art, he is the implacable enemy of pseudo-art, making war on all the conditions which produce it, including the writer's cynicism, the producer's greed, the actor's ambition, and the spectator's spiritual emptiness.

As for the correcting of taste, this function every true critic guards as jealously as if it were his own personal property – not for the sake of a contemporary theatergoer's ephemeral pleasure but for the sake of a harsh posterity much less inclined to charitable opinions than our own age. It is under the cold, impersonal eye of the future that the dramatic artist writes, suppressing his natural desire for fame, love, success, and money in order to communicate his vision truly in eternal aesthetic form. And under the glare of this eye, the critic must make his judgments, conscious that he will ultimately be judged himself. Can you imagine the mordant laughter with which 21st-Century man, picking up a rotting copy of a play like *J.B.*, will note that it was once considered "one of the most memorable works of the century"? This language is what terrifies us in our sleep, and nudges us forward in the ruthless pursuit of art.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

Diplomacy and the Color Line

Sirs:

Helen Kitchen's article, "Africa and the Kennedy Era" (December 12) is a moderately objective and well-documented effort. While she wisely observes that American Negroes should not be assigned to African diplomatic posts merely because of their color, she succumbs to a myth which has plagued the American Negro for years.

According to Miss Kitchen, Africans would "have ambivalent feelings about having 'second class' citizens assigned to them alone." I submit this yet-to-be proved assertion has been utilized to forestall both the hiring and assignment of Negroes to African posts. The problem is not one of alleged "second-class citizenship," but one of 'second-class competence."

In the past, Negro ambassadors have been appointed to Africa solely on the basis of color, as Miss Kitchen correctly affirms. But virtually all of them have been coloreless (no pun intended), undistinguished individuals. None have compiled an outstanding record and it is the brilliant mediocrity which Africans resent, not the pigmentation of the diplomats' skin, or the stigma imputed to it by Americans. A shining example is our present ambassador to Guinea whose sole qualifications for his appointment were: (1) he speaks French, and (2) he is the brother of President Eisenhower's Negro aide, E. Frederic Morrow. It is a rare African leader indeed (and there is one in particular) who would not be proud and honored to have Thurgood Marshall, Dr. Robert Weaver, Dr. Stephen Wright, Dr. John H. Davis, George L. P. Weaver, or Dr. Zelma George appointed as ambassador to their representative countries.

Miss Kitchen, after years of steady contact with African leaders, should have realized this, but like most good white people who have become "African experts," she too is a victim of what she would like to believe about black people rather than what actually exists.

C. Sumner Stone, Jr., Editor
Washington Afro-American

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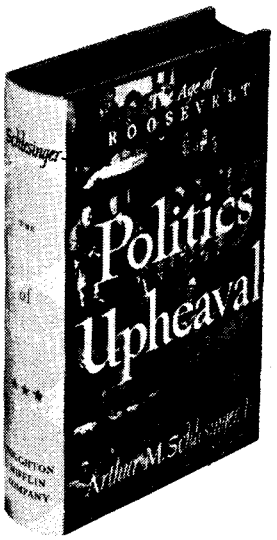

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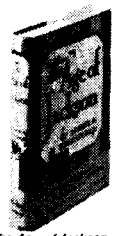

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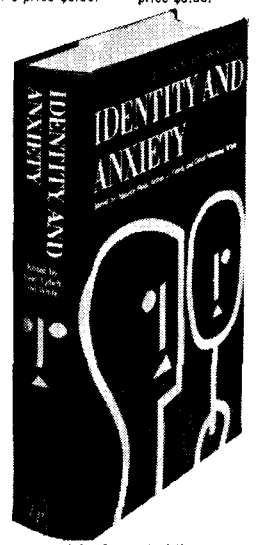

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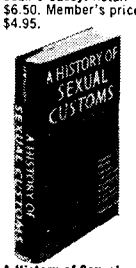

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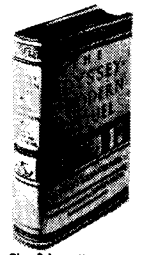

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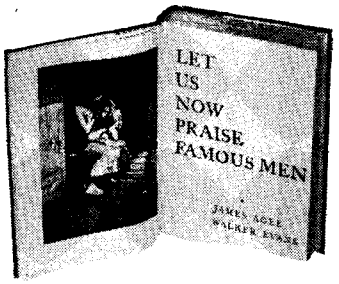

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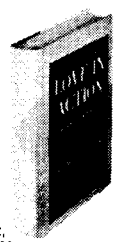

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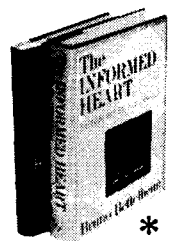

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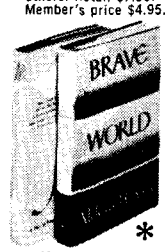

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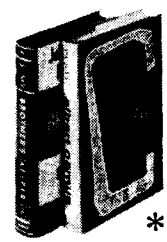

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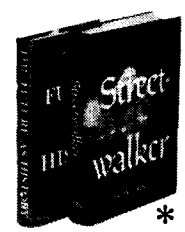

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